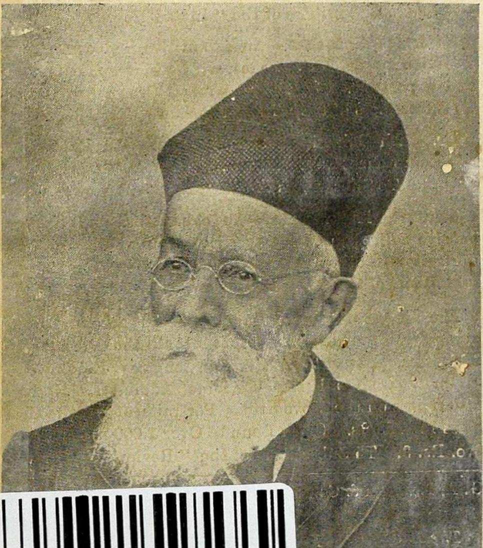
DADABHAI NAOROJI

A Sketch of His Life and Life-Work.



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DADABHAI NAOROJI.

INTRODUCTORY.

AMONG the eminent men whom India has produced in recent times, there is none who is more esteemed and admired than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. In September last his eighty-first birthday was celebrated with much enthusiasm all over the country of his birth—an honour generally done only to Kings and Emperors. Probably very few of the present generation have seen Mr. Naoroji, and yet his name is one to conjure with throughout the length and breadth of this country. In the words of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale: "Mr. Naoroji has attained in the hearts of millions of his countrymen, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy, and which in its character is more like the influence which [gr]eat teachers of humanity have exercised on [th]ose whose thoughts and hopes and lives they [h]ave lifted to a higher plane." The life of such a man, "one of the most perfect examples of the highest type of patriotism that any country has ever produced," is, therefore, full of lessons to all Indians who take a real interest in the progress and development of their motherland.

EARLY LIFE.

Dadabhai Naoroji was born in the city of Bombay on the 4th of September 1825 in a Parsi priestly family. He lost his father when only four years old, but his mother made up for this

and brought him up with great care. Helped by her brother, she gave him the best education then available in Bombay. He became a scholar of the Elphinstone Institution (now the Elphinstone College) and had a brilliant academic career, carrying off most of the prizes and exhibitions awarded to the best students. By 1845 his studies were finished. Sir Erskine Perry, the then Chief Justice of Bombay, and President of the Board of Education, was so much struck by the young man's intelligence, capacity, and knowledge, that he proposed to send him to England to qualify himself for the Bar, and offered to pay half the expenses if the members of Dadabhai's community would find the other half; but the proposal fell through, as the Parsi elders feared that Dadabhai might become a convert to Christianity in England—two or three conversions of Parsis having taken place a little before, causing the greatest consternation in the Zoroastrian community, which in matters of religion is as orthodox as the Jewish. Dadabhai narrowly missed entering the Bombay Government service as a clerk in the Secretariat, but secured the post of Native Head Assistant at the Elphinstone Institution. In 1850 he was appointed Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the same institution, and later on acted as Professor. In this latter post he was confirmed in 1854. This was a great honor to him, as he was the first Indian to be appointed professor in the country. Dadabhai fully justified his appointment, but did not hold it long. He resigned it in 1856, and proceeded to England to manage the business of the great Prasi

firm of Cama & Co., then newly started in London, of which he was a partner.

SERVICES TO BOMBAY

Dadabhai's life between 1845, when he finished his studies, and 1855, when he left for England, was an eventful one, and not less active and unselfish than it has since been. His activities covered a very wide range. With the help of Principal Patton, he organised the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, which still exists. A journal, known as the *Students' Literary Miscellany*, was started in connection with the Society, and Dadabhai was one of the most diligent contributors to it. He started branches of the Society under the name of the Dnyan Prasarak Mandali for discussions in the Guzerati and Marathi languages, and delivered lectures himself under the auspices of the Guzerati Dnyan Prasarak Mandali. To Dadabhai Bombay owed her first girls' schools, which were opened amidst much opposition. At one of the meetings of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, a stirring paper on the advantages of female education was read by a gentleman named Behramji Ghandi; and Professor Patton, who presided, urged upon the members the duty of their taking active steps in the matter. Led by Dadabhai, a number of the members opened classes in various parts of Bombay, and taught them themselves during their spare hours. These classes subsequently developed into the Students' Literary and Scientific Society's Marathi and Parsi Girls' Schools. The Marathi Schools still exist under

the auspices of the Society, but the Parsi Schools were taken up by the Zarthasti Girls' School Association, one of which was later on endowed by the late Mr. S. S. Bengali, a coadjutor of Dadabhai in all his efforts at social reform among the Parsis. Dadabhai was thus one of the pioneers of female education in Bombay. He also took an active part in establishing the Bombay Association, the Framji Institute, the Irani Fund the Parsi Gymnasium, the Widow Marriage Association, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1851 he started the *Rast Goftar* (Truth-Teller) as a Guzerati weekly and the organ of the advanced and progressive views held by himself and other young men at the time, and edited it himself for two years with such able colleagues as Messrs. Naoroji Furdonji, Jehanghir Burjorji Wacha and S. S. Bengali. This period of his life was thus full of activity, and Mr. Naoroji may well look back upon it, as he said recently, "with pride and pleasure; with the satisfaction of a duty performed."

INDIANS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. Naoroji's political activity began soon after he set foot on English soil, and has continued unabated to this day. Almost the first subject that attracted his attention was the employment of natives of India in the Indian Civil Serice. In 1855 the old system of nominations to this service was abolished, and the present one of recruitment by open competition was adopted instead. Among the candidates who offered themselves at the first competition was an Indian, Mr. R. H. Wadia, the scion of a dis-

tinguished Parsi family of master builders. The Civil Service Commissioners objected to admitting Wadia, on a technical ground as to limit of age—a point altogether doubtful. This led to a correspondence between them and the rejected canditate. Mr. Naoroji, who was in London at the time, took up Wadia's cause and fought, with the support of Mr. John Bright, for the relaxation of the age-rule in his case. He did not succeed, but this led him to take up the larger question of the desirability of holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service. He opened correspondence on the subject with the Council of India and secured the sympathy of as many as four of its members. One of them minuted to the effect that our rulers were giving a promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. But the majority were against him. Mr Naoroji, however, did not give up the fight. With his characteristic perseverance he kept on agitating the matter, until, in 1893, the House of Commons, by a majority, declared itself in favour of simultaneous examinations.

EDUCATING THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

Shortly after going to England in 1855, he found that there was much ignorance in that country regarding India, its people and its government, and it struck him that it would be of great advantage to India, if the English people were educated as to their responsibilities as rulers of India. For this purpose he started, with the co-operation of the late Mr. W. C, Bonnerji, the London Indian Society which, in spite of a chequered career, continues to exist to

this day, and has recently been somewhat active. Later, Mr. Naoroji started a larger Association, known as the East India Association, which was to admit not only Indians, but all who were interested in the welfare of India. He collected donations and endowments for the purpose from some Indian Princes and Chiefs, and placed that organisation on a sound financial footing. Amongst the donors were the Gaekwar, Holkar, Scindia, the Rao of Cutch, and others. In the early years of its existence this Association did much useful work in the direction of disseminating sound and progressive views on Indian questions, and the volumes of its journal of that period contain much valuable material on Indian politics and economics. Many a retired Governor, like Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Bartle Frere, and other broad-minded and sympathetic Anglo-Indian officials used to read papers and carry on discussions. Both Mr. W. C. Bonnerji and Mr. (now Sir) P. M. Mehta read useful papers, the former on Hindu Law, and the latter on Education. Mr. Dadabhai read many. The late Mr. Robert Knight contributed a most exhaustive paper on Indian finances and other reforms. There were also papers on Self-Government, in which the well-known Counsel of Bombay, the late Mr. Anstey, took an active part. Mr. Naoroji travelled about the country, addressing meetings on Indian questions, wrote to newspapers and other periodicals, encouraged many to read papers before learned societies with a view to correct popular European fallacies regarding India, and corresponded with the Secretary of State for India.

FAILURE OF HIS FIRM IN LONDON.

In 1866 Mr. Naoroji, who had separated in 1862 from the firm of the Camas and started one of his own, failed in attempting to befriend a Hindu gentleman and save him from bankruptcy.. But the reputation that Naoroji had acquired for honesty and integrity iu business stood him in good stead; so that when he placed his affairs unreservedly before his creditors, they sympathised with him and showed him much consideration. The Governor of the Bank of England—one of the creditors—wrote to him personally and complimented him on his remarkable honesty. With the help of loans from some friends and through the kindness of his creditors, he managed to escape from his financial difficulties and returned to Bombay in 1869.

BACK TO BOMBAY.

His services to the cause of India, during his stay in England, were so highly valued that, on his return, a grand demonstration was promoted in his honor by the citizens of Bombay, at the instance of Mr. (now Sir) P. M. Mehta, and at a large and representative meeting of all classes, an address and a handsome purse were presented to him, and his portrait was taken. Mr. Naoroji did not utilize any of this money for his private purposes, but spent it all on useful public objects. The Portrait Fund was kept apart earning interest till, in December 1900, the portrait was prepared and unveiled in the Framji Cowasji Institute under the presidency of the late Mr. Ranade, who made a most eloquent and instructive speech, his last public utterance, delivered

a few days before his sudden and premature death.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE FAWCETT COMMITTEE.

Mr. Naoroji soon after returned to England to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance, known as the Fawcett Committee. The most important point which Mr. Naoroji sought to establish before the Committee was the great poverty of India and the very high incidence of taxation in the country. This subject may be said to be the special study of Mr. Naoroji, and to this day he continues to write and speak on it. When in his evidence before the Committee he stated that the average income per head in Brittsh India was so low as Rs. 20, he provoked only a smile and brought on himself the wrath of many Anglo-Indian officials. A bitter controversy followed, but Mr. Naoroji courageously continued the agitation. In 1873 he issued, in pamphlet form, his facts and figures on the subject, calling it the "Poverty of India," and seven years later he revised the *brochure* and amplified it, calling it the "Condition of India." Several years later, he had the satisfaction to find his views practically accepted by the Government of India's Finance Minister, Sir E. Baring, now Lord Cromer, who declared, as a result of official investigation, that the average income per head in British India was only Rs. 27 per annum. Mr. Naoroji also drew the attention of the Fawcett Committee to several defects in British Indian administration, among which were its extravagant cost, the enormous annual drain of India's wealth towards England, and the

inequitable treatment of the natives of the country in regard to the higher offices in the administration.

DEWANSHIP OF BARODA.

Mr. Naoroji returned to India in 1874, having been appointed Dewan of the Baroda State, which was then in a chaotic state owing to the maladministration of its ruler—Mulhar Rao Geakwar. Mr. Naoroji had no easy task before him. He had a real Augean stable to clean, and in this difficult work he was hampered not a little by the unsympathetic attitude of the British Resident—Colonel Phayre—and the intrigues of the corrupt State officials who till then had had their way entirely. But with his usual persistence, Mr. Naoroji worked steadily on with the able and efficient staff he had requisitioned from Bombay, and though he was Dewan for less than two years, he succeeded in completely reforming the administration and in putting down corruption, which had been rampant in the administration of civil and criminal justice. As to his differences with Colonel Phayre, Mr. Dadabhai had the satisfaction to see his conduct successfuly vindicated by Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State.

ACTIVITIES IN BOMBAY.

After resigning his office as Dewan of Baroda Mr. Naoroji returned to Bombay, and stayed there for some years, serving, meanwhile, his native city as a member of the Municipal Corporation. Being depressed by the repressive and reactionary administration of Lord Lytton, he had for a time kept a retired life. With a change in the Viceroyalty he returned to public life. He

entered the Corporation again and continued to be in it till 1885, during which period he rendered valuable service which that body recognized in the form of a resolution on its records. In the latter year he was invited by Lord Reay, the then Governor of Bombay, to accept a seat on the Bombay Legislative Council. He did not, however, remain long on the Council, as early in 1886 he left for England with the idea of getting into the British Parliament and fighting the cause of his native country there. But before his departure he took part in the inauguration of the Indian National Congress which held its first sitting in Bombay in December 1885.

ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT.

When Mr. Naoroji went to England in 1886, that country was amidst the throes of a General Election, and though Mr. Naoroji succeeded in getting himself accepted as the Liberal candidate by the electors of Holborn, he failed to win the seat, as the principal issue fought out was the question of granting Home Rule to Ireland, and public opinion on this was against Mr. Gladstone, who proposed to grant the concession. Mr. Naoroji, however, managed to poll 1,950 votes against his opponent's 3,651, a very creditable result when it is remembered that Mr. Naoroji lay under the double disadvantage of being a 'black man' and a Liberal. In spite of his defeat, Mr. Naoroji continued to stay in England, giving his attention to the interests of India, and redoubling his efforts to persuade a metropolitan constituency to return him to Parliament at the next election. Towards the close of the year, however, Mr. Naoroji

returned to India to preside over the second sitting of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta. In January 1887, he gave very valuable evidence before the Public Service Commission (itself only the result of his own active agitation), and shortly after left for England, to renew his efforts to get into the British Parliament. After five years' hard work he succeeded, being returned by the electors of Central Finsbury as a Liberal Member at the General Election held in 1892. All India congratulated him on this unique honour, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Naoroji's success paved the way for the return, a few years later, by a London constituency, of another Parsi as its Parliamentary representative.

MAIDEN SPEECH.

On the 9th August 1892, Mr. Naoroji made his maiden speech in the House of Commons, during the debate on the Address to the Queen, which produced a favourable impression. We make no apology for reproducing it in full below :—

It may be considered rather rash and unwise on my part to stand before this House so immediately after my admission here ; and my only excuse is that I am under a certain necessity to do so. My election for an English constituency is a unique event. For the first time during more than a century of settled British rule, an Indian is admitted into the House as a member for an English constituency. That, as I have said, is a unique event in the history of India, and, I may also venture to say, in the history of the British Empire. I desire to say a few words in analysis of this great and wonderful phenomenon. The spirit of the British rule, the instinct of British justice and generosity, from the very commencement, when they seriously took the matter of Indian policy into

their hands, about the beginning of this century, decided that India was to be governed on the lines of British freedom and justice. Steps were taken without any hesitation to introduce Western education. civilisation, and political institutions in that conntry; and the result was that, aided by a noble and grand language in which the youth of that country began to be educated, a great movement of political life—I may say new life—was infused into that country which had been decaying for centuries. The British rulers of the country endowed it with all their own most important privileges. A few days ago, Sir, you demanded from the Throne the privileges which belong to the people, including freedom of speech, for which they fought and shed their blood. That freedom of speech you have given to us, and it enables Indians to stand before you and represent in clear and open language any desire they have felt. By conferring those privileges you have prepared for this final result of an Indian standing before you in this House, becoming a member of the great Imperial Parliament of the British Empire, and being able to express his views openly and fearlessly before you. The glory and credit of this great event—by which India is thrilled from one end to the other—of the new life, the joy, the ecstasy of India at the present moment, are all your own; it is the spirit of British institutions and the love of justice and freedom in British instincts which has produced this extraordinary result, and I stand here in the name of India to thank the British people that they have made it at all possible for an Indian to occupy this position, and to speak freely in the English language of any grievance which India may be suffering under, with the conviction that though he stands alone, with only one vote, whenever he is able to bring forward any aspiration and is supported by just and proper reasons, he will find a large number of other members from both sides of the House ready to support him and give him the justice he asks. This is the conviction which permeates the whole thinking and educated classes of India. It is that conviction that enables us to work on, day after day, without dismay, for the removal of a grievance. The question now being discussed before the House will come up from time to time in practical shape, and I shall then be able

to express my humble views upon them as a representative of the English constituency of Central Finsbury. I do not intend to enter into them now. Central Finsbury has earned the everlasting gratitude of the millions of India, and has made itself famous in the history of the British Empire, by electing an Indian to represent it. Its name will never be forgotten by India. This event has strengthened the British power and the loyalty and attachment of India to it ten times more than the sending out of one hundred thousand European soldiers would have done. The moral force to which the right honourable gentleman, the member for Midlothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), referred is the golden link by which India is held by the British power. So long as India is satisfied with the justice and honour of Britain, so long will her Indian Empire last, and I have not the least doubt that, though our progress may be slow and we may at times meet with disappointments, if we persevere, whatever justice we ask in reason we shall get. I thank you, Sir, for allowing me to say these few words and the House for so indulgently listening to me, and I hope that the connection between England and India—which forms five-sixths of the British Empire—may continue long with benefit to both countries. There will be certain Indian questions, principally of administration, which I shall have to lay before the House, and I am quite sure that when they are brought forward they will be fairly considered, and, if reasonable, amended to our satisfaction.

SERVICES IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Naoroji's first efforts as member of Parliament was to interest British members in Indian affairs, and, with the aid of Sir William Wedderburn and the late Mr. W S. Caine, he succeeded in organising the Indian Parliamentary Committee, which for many years rendered very valuable and substantial service to this country. In the year following his election, he got Mr. Herbert Paul to move the famous resolution about holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil

Service, and though it was opposed by the Government, it was passed by a majority of the House. The credit for this success was mostly due to Mr. Naoroji.

PRESIDENT OF THE LAHORE CONGRESS.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Naoroji came out to India to preside over the ninth session of the Congress held at Lahore. His journey from Bombay to Lahore was a regular triumphal progress, a right royal welcome being accorded to him at every station the train stopped at. On his return journey the citizens of Allahabad presented him with an address of welcome. At Lahore the enthusiasm of the Punjabis was at white heat. They would not allow the horses to draw Mr. Naoroji's carriage, but had it dragged to the President's camp by bands of earnest young men. Accounts of these incidents, wired from India, filled the columns of the British newspapers, and that great friend of India—the late Sir William Hunter—summed up his views on the situation in one of his notable articles in the *Times* on "Indian Affairs," in the following brilliant passage:—

"The enthusiasm with which the President of this year's Congress has been received in India was very striking. Mr. Naoroji is not only the first Indian gentleman who has ever been elected to Parliament, he is also an example of an early career of high promise being overshadowed by long frustrations in middle life and realized after unwearied perseverance in advanced age. The brilliant young student and Professor of Elphinstone College, who left Bombay to seek his fortunes in England in 1855, was received back last month, bowed with the weight of 68 years and of a great family sorrow. He had a welcome on landing such as has only on one occasion been rivalled even by a viceregal ovation. His reception at Lahore has, perhaps, not been surpassed

since the days of Ranjit Singh. It is for him and his colleagues to direct wisely the new influence which the Congress party has acquired in the House of Commons and the Indian Legslative Councils.

The 'sorrow' referred to was the death of his only son.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE WELBY COMMISSION.

The most substantial result of Mr. Naoroji's short Parliamentary career was the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1896, of which Mr. Naoroji himself was a member. Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. W. S. Caine were two of his colleagues. Mr. Naoroji himself gave evidence as a witness before this very Commission in 1897, generally known as the Welby Commission, from its being presided over by Lord Welby, and submitted a number of statements which showed his thorough grasp and wide knowledge of the complicated problems of Indian finance and politics. The following is a summary prepared by himself of his contentions in his evidence before the Commission:—

I have handed in to the Commission six printed statements. These statements contain the facts, figures and authorities upon which I rely, and I am prepared to be cross-examined upon them.

The headings under which my evidence falls are—(*a*) The Administration of Expenditure. (*b*) The Apportionment of Charges. (*c*) Practical Remedies. Upon each of these headings I am prepared to state categorically my most important contentions on behalf of India.

I consider that the Act of 1833, confirmed by the pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, conferred upon Indians a right to their full claim and share of public employments and emoluments and voice in ther own expenditure, in order to secure their happiness and prosperity, and good government and attachment to British rule and the prosperity of the British people themselves.

I maintain that the administration of Indian expendi is not conducted according to the principles thus laid d and that the non-fulfilment of these pledges has prod poverty and degradation ; the inherent and essential de of British administration being the financial, political intellectual drain, which is inseparable from a remote, for dominion exercised in disregard of the sound princ above stated.

In my six statements I set forth the facts of In poverty, as shown by the comparative production consumption of each province, by calculating the ave production of India per head ; by analysing the trade turns ; and by reference to the small amount of reve obtained after exhausting all sources of taxation.

I maintain that the improverishment and degradation British India has been caused by the compulsory emplo ment of costly foreign official agencies and foreign cap (represented by the public debt, political and commerc beyond the means of the tax-payer, resulting in a d from British India, financial, political and intellect aggravated by heavy Imperial war expenditure beyond frontier. and that indirectly the foreign dominion has ca a further drain by creating a practical monopoly in fav of foreign private capital, which reaps the advanta British India's material resources.

My propositions are :—

That it is the desire of the British people that Britis should be one of justice and righteousness for the bene both India and Britain, and not for the benefit of Br only, to the detriment of India, and that the fina relations in apportionment of charges should be as t between two partners and not as those between ma and slave.

That upon this equitable basis the apportionment or penditure in which Britain and India are jointly intere should be according to the extent of the interest according to the capacity to pay.

That the creation and maintenance of British Imp supremacy in India is a British interest of the first ma tude ; yet, with a few exceptions, India has been unj charged with the whole cost of creating and mainta

3ritish Imperial supremacy without Britain paying portion, and without India being allowed to share in ıdvantages connected with that supremacy.

ıat law and order are beneficial to India, but they are a British interest, as a condition essential to the very ence and prosperity of British rule.

at, assuming, as it is said, that India should bear all charges for internal and external protection which ould have to bear if British rule did not exist, she l not bear the special cost of European agency so far ed solely to maintain British supremacy. And, more- that if British rule did not exist, every one employed be an Indian and not an European.

ıat as a practical arrangement Britain should pay for 3ritish employed in Britain, that India should pay for ıdians employed in India, and that, as regards British oyed in India, and Indians employed in Britain, there ld be an equitable apportionment according to respec- benefit and capacity to pay. To put it still more rately, the payments to Europeans in both countries be divided half-and-half between Britain and India.

at in the Army, Navy and Civil Services, public yment, with its advantages and emoluments, should pportioned to the charge; and, in considering this , it should be borne in mind that in India Government yment monopolises in great part the sphere of private prise and the open professions practised in Britain.

ıat the wars carried on beyond the Indian frontier of are, as stated by Lord Salisbury, "an indivisible part great Imperial question," and that, therefore, the cost ld primarily be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, ı contributing a fair share on account of, and oportion to, indirect and incidental benefits accruing to and direct share in the services.

hat from April, 1882, to March, 1891, nearly Rs. 139 ions were spent from Indian revenues beyond the tern and north-western frontiers of India, for avowedly perial purposes, and that a fair share of this amount ıld be refunded from the Imperial Exchequer, and simi- for the cost of the Burmese War.

2

Since putting in my statements I have obtained fu figures showing the amounts spent from Indian reve upon military operations beyond the frontiers of I Colonel H. B. Hanna, in book No. 3, "Backwards or wards," gives at page 40 a table, and makes the about Rs. 7,14,500,000, out of which the British Exche paid about £ 5,000,000, towards the expenses of the Af War. Besides this amount, he points out several omis I may put in this table, with his remarks thereo Chapter III.

The principle I approve is that which was declar the Duke of Devonshire, who said: "If the country be better governed, that can only be done by the em ment of the best and most intelligent of the natives i Service;" and as pointed out by Sir W. W. Hunter, "I are to govern the people of India efficiently and chea we must govern them by means of themselves, and pa the administration at the market rates of native lab An administration conducted on these priniciples will the material, political and intellectual drain from India.

In the case of the Mysore State this method was a by Lords Salisbury and Iddesleigh, "as a guarante the good government of the people, and for the se of British rights and interests." This experiment, t disapproved by the Anglo-Indian authorities, was l and effectively carried out by them, and proved a bri success, resulting in a contented people, a full trea moral and material progress, and attachment to Br supremacy. It is a brilliant episode in British In History.

Similarly, British India will be prosperous and con ed if the same principles are followed, local adm tration being entrusted to competent native offi under European control, co-operating with represent assemblies.

I gladly recognise the benefits of British rule, esp ally as regards law and order, education, and freedom the Press and public meetings; but I believe that Bri power and influence are much weakened by the refusal administer expenditure in a way so as to give the pe justice and a voice in their own affairs, by the consequ

reme poverty" of the masses, and by the non-fulfil- of the solemn pledges, given by Parliament and the n, of equal opportunity in the public service to all cts of Her Majesty; and sincerely desire to see British strengthened on the lines most beneficial to the people, of India and of Britain.

esire to put in my correspondence with the War Office, dmiralty, and the Civil Service Commissioners. In claim that neither the War Office nor the Admiralty y authority or power to exclude Indians from the ssioned ranks.

FAILURE TO GET INTO PARLIAMENT.

1895 the Liberals had to resign, and the ral Election which followed placed their nents in power. Mr. Naoroji failed to get Parliament owing to the unpopularity of rty with whom he had identified himself. aoroji, however, was by no means de- d by his defeat, as will be seen from the ge he sent to his countrymen through the ns of the *India* newspaper. We print the ge in full below:—

ve had nearly half a century of varied public and life—political, social, educational, commercial, ad- rative, etc.—and I have had, like every human effort, ccesses and failures. But I have, I may say, never either unduly elated by any success, or depressed by ilure. In such a general wreck of the Liberal party, suffered as one of them. But the only policy upon I have acted through life—the policy of "Go on, patience and perseverance," whether successful or un- ssful in any good cause—is the one upon which I shall ow as ever before. As long as I have the health and rtunity of serving my country, I shall continue to do This is the last work of my life, and I intend to go on it. I mean, therefore, to try to get into the House mmons again, as it is there that the battles of the ances and necessary reforms of India and the stability

of the British Empire have to be fought. The good of I is the good of the British Empire. The Indian quest of far wider importance than merely the interests of I It is the question of the very existence, stability and tinuance of the British Empire. As my views on this subject have been made public at various times, and have to be expressed yet many a time more on su occasions, I need not repeat them here, beyond sayin vast and powerful forces are working and growing in If the statesmen of the day do not direct them to th motion of the interests of the Empire, producing sa tion and prosperity among the people, they cann should not expect that the e forces will not go aga British rule and end in some disaster. My humble have always been, and will continue to be, directed t this calamity as far as an individual's efforts can g countrymen in India need not be in any way disco by my defeat. The interest in Indian affairs has been ally, but surely (though slowly) increasing amo British people, and I shall always cherish the hope t British people will some time see that their true consists in promoting the interests, contentment an perity of India, and not in persisting in the prese natural policy which is gradually leading to the disc ment and continuous poverty of India.

His defeat was regarded in India as a a national calamity, and even such a journ the *Times of India* wrote as follows about it

We cannot regard without regret the widesprea appointment which Dadabhai's defeat has caused am his friends in this country. He was the expone opinions with which we are seldom in accord, for he l at the British administration of India from a stand at which no one who dispassionately considered the re ments and the capabilities of the country could place self. But we do not think that he ever seemed to his resolute opponents as other than a straightforward, sin and disinterested champion of the views he had adopte

Since he left India in 1887, Mr. Naoroji been staying in England, having practic

made that country his 'home', and has been in his usual persistent way working for the country of his birth. In 1896 he opened correspondence with the War Office and the Admiralty regarding the exclusion of natives of India from examinations for admission to the Army and the Navy, and though he did not succeed in getting either of these bodies to remove the exclusion, he was able to show that the rules on which it was based were contrary to the Queen's Proclamations of 1858 and 1887. In 1897 he gave evidence, as already stated, before the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure.

STATEMENTS TO THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE.

In 1898 he prepared and submitted two instructive statements to the Indian Currency Committee, which sat under the presidency of Sir Henry Fowler, to consider the question of the then proposed gold currency for India. The views set forth in these statements are summarised in the following extract from a letter of Mr. Naoroji published in the *London Times* of June 3, 1898 :—

1. Fall or rise in exchange does not in itself (other circumstances being the same) matter in true international trade, which adjusts itself automatically to the requirements of exchange. I would illustrate this. I desire, for instance, to lay out £1,000 for sending a quantity of piece-goods to India. I calculate the price of the manufacturer, exchange, whatever it may be, 1*s.*, 2*s.*, or 3*s.* per rupee, freight, insurance, commission, etc., and see whether the price in India would pay me a fair profit. If I think it would, I enter into the transaction, sell my bill to an East India bank, and take the usual commercial chances of supply, etc., when the goods arrive in India. I give this illustration in its simplest form of the general character of commercial transactions between this country and India,

There are variations of the method of these transactions. but into them I do not enter at present, to avoid confusion. The main principle is the same.

2. Closing the mints or introducing a gold standard does not, and cannot, save a single farthing to the Indian tax-payers in their remittances for "Home Charges" to this country. The reason is simple. Suppose we take, roundly, £20,000,000 sterling in gold to be the amount of the "Home Charges." The Indian taxpayers have to send as much produce to this country as is necessary to buy £20,000,000 sterling, not an ounce less, no matter whatever may be the rupee, or whatever the standard—gold or silver—in India England must receive £20,000,000 in gold.

3. Closing of the mints and thereby raising the true rupee worth at present about 11*d.* in gold, to a false rupee to be worth about 16*d.* in gold, is a covert exaction of 45 per cent. more taxation (besides producing other effects which I do not mention) from the Indian taxpayers. The reason is again simple. Suppose a ryot has to pay Rs. 10 for land-tax. This rupee means a fixed quantity of silver stamped with the mint stamp, and is truly worth at present only about 11*d.* of gold. By closing the mints this rupee is forced up the worth of 16*d.* of gold, and the ryot is compelled to find this high-priced false rupee of 16*d.* of gold or, in other words, to sell 45 per cent more of his produce to get this false rupee, the Government thus getting 45 per cent. more taxation than it is entitled to, even according to its own "despotic" legislation.

4. The introduction of a gold standard, while it will not save a single farthing or a single ounce of produce to the Indian taxpayer in his payment of "Home Charges," as explained above, will simply add more to his already existing grievous burdens (and injure him in other ways (which I avoid mentioning here), to the extent of the heavy cost of the alteration.

I have thus put forth four simple clear propositions. It is necessary for your other correspondents to consider whether these propositions are true or not. If once these fundamental issues or premises are settled, further discussion will have a sound basis to go upon. At present the whole controversy is based upon the assumption that

closing of mints or introduction of a gold standard w produce to the Indian taxpayers an enormous saving i their remittances for "Home Charges." This, I say, is a mere fiction of the imagination and an unfortunate delusion.

I avoid also entering on the question of the remedy. It is useless to talk about the remedy before making a true diagnosis of the real character of the disease.

AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AT AMSTERDAM.

In 1905 Mr. Naoroji attended the International Congresss of Social Democrats held at Amsterdam as the representative of India. At this Congress Mr. Naoroji spoke on the resolution condemning the present system of British Government in India and produced a remarkable impression. In the words of one who was there, Mr. Naoroji, notwithstanding his 80 years, displayed throughout the Congress, a vigour of mind and body which men 30 years his junior might have envied. * * His voice rang clear and resonant from one end of the hall to the other. Never was there the slightest hesitation or weakness from first to last, as he laid the case for India calmly, moderately, with relentless logic."

PUBLICATION OF HIS BOOK.

In 1902 Mr. Naoroji published his famous book with the significant title of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.* The book consists of a selection from his papers, contributions to periodicals, statements before Commissions and Committees, correspondence with official bodies on Indian questions. It may, perhaps, be regretted that Mr. Naoroji did not adopt the better

method of revising these and stating his case in a compact essay with the necessary evidenee and authorities. In its present form the book is much too expansive to be read through except by a few; but perhaps Mr. Naoroji's advancing age was prohibitory against undertaking that laborious task. Anyhow, the book is a solid contribution to the literature on Indian questions, and is a storehouse of information on Indian economics. Throughout its pages one finds Mr. Naoroji persistently making out that the great and gradually increasing poverty of India is due to the enormous annual drain of 30 millions sterling (more or less in the form of exports of produce) from the country *without a pie of return* that the present system of British administration involves, and that this can be remedied only by the substitution of Indians for the very large, extremely costly staff of Europeans now employed in the country, and by the exploitation of the country's resources by sons of the soil alone.

THE BURDEN OF THE BOOK.

The following statement made by him some years ago to the representative of a Paris journal, who interviewed him, may be regarded as summarising the political views contained in this book:—

The relations between England and India latterly have been most unhappy and most disastrous, particularly with regard to India's economic and material condition. On one side, one of the important advantages conferred on India by England is English education; the Indians are profoundly grateful to England for this fact—but in spite of other concessions of less importance the disadvantages greatly surpass the benefits conferred. At the very outset of the

association of England with India, corruption and oppression were the principal characteristics, and the rule of the system which was adopted. When little by little this cyncial corruption ceased, the system, nevertheless was such that a considerable part of the public wealth of India was transfered from India to England. This calamity has not ceased to manifest itself to this day. What at first was only a tribute of one or two millions has become in the course of the last 150 years an annual drain of 30 millions pounds sterling, that is to say, a sum which no other country in the world could pay without being utterly impoverished and completely ruined. The evils from which the Indians suffer are made up of the following elements. To begin with, England, by pure despotism, carries off annually two hundred millions of Rupees for payment under the head of salaries for Government officials, so that the wealth produced by the work of the people, so far from supplying their own needs, becomes the prey of men who are, so far as they are concerned, mere foreigners. Besides the loss of the wealth of their country the people are, in addition, excluded from public office in their own native land. All the important positions are, so to speak, inaccessible to them. Thus the Indians, as a result of this rapacious system, suffer the two-fold loss of wealth and of work. This system may be regarded as an incessant and unceasingly growing waste, due to foreign invasion. At this very time there are thousands who have been sent to India to get wealth from it, and all these people will return to their homes with what they take from the country. This increasing invasion of the Indian by the English has had for its result the increasing impoverishment of the mass of the Indian people. Consequently, millions of men perish by famine and epidemic disease, and a still larger number are insufficiently fed by reason of their poverty. Famines in India are not due to scarcity of food ; they are due to lack of money, so little have the wretched Indians to live upon. The British system of administration further aggravates this disastrous result. The wealth drained from India returns to India in the form of British capital ; but a much larger sum is taken away than that which comes back. This so-called British captial exploits afresh the mineral and vegetable resources of India, gold, coal, iron, and other products ; so that by this means, under the

form of profits, still more wealth is taken from the country. Altogether, if one includes the two hundred million rupees which the British Government begins by taking for the salaries and pensions of English Government officials as well as the profits from the exploitation of gold, coal, and iron, the total sum carried away by England from India amounts every year to thirty millions, a wastage so large and so ruinous that India finds herself reduced to the most extreme misery. All the former invasions taken together have not produced havoc comparable to that which the English subject us to in two or three years. In addition to this unmerciful drain which it inflicts on India, the British Government has further dealt with her in a humiliating manner. England has not wholly fulfilled one of her promises, nor one of her solemn proclamations by which she undertook to treat the Indians as British subjects without knowing difference of race or of colour. To-day, after the most formal undertakings England has not granted to the Indian the elementary right known to all English citizens of taxation by consent and of controlling expenditure. It is a system of pure despotism where taxation, like expenditure, is wholly at the discretion of our masters. The people are treated as slaves, and what is worse is that our masters are not of our country, the damage is all the greater because when plunder is taken by men of the same country, the wealth remains, at any rate in the country, and whatever may be the character of such a Government, the people profit by it at least to a certain extent. The most disastrous feature of British rule in India is that all that is wrested from India is definitely lost to its inhabitants, and consequently, the ills that England imposes on India are of the gravest possible kind. Macaulay was right when he said: 'The heaviest yoke is that of the stranger.' English statesmen themselves have often declared that this evil system produces terrible consequences for England herself. The English system so much praised, and (they say) so successful, is really, therefore, a system of bleeding, and also a system of political insincerity, as Lord Salisbury himself has confessed.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS BRITISH RULE.

The following extracts from the introduction

to Mr. Dadabhai's famous book deserve particular notice :—

" The title of the book is Poverty AND UN-BRITISH RULE IN INDIA, *i.e.*, the present system of Government is destructive and despotic to the Indians and un-British and suicidal to Britain. On the other hand, a truly British course can and will certainly be vastly beneficent both to Britain and India."

" True British rule will vastly benefit both Britain and India. My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British people, that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonorable un-British system of Government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent inconceivable at present if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instincts of fair play and justice, and will insist upon the 'faithful and conscientious fulfilment' of all their great and solemen promises and pledges."

" Mr. John Bright has truly said: 'The good of England must come through the channels of the good of India. There are but two modes of gaining anything by our connexion with India. The one is by plundering the people of India, and the other by trading with them. I prefer to do it by trading with them. But in order that England may become rich by trading with India, India itself must become rich.' Cannot British authorities see their way to such intelligent selfishness ?

CONCLUSION.

Of Mr. Naoroji's activity since 1901 little more need be said than that, as in all the years before, he has been indefatigably and uninterruptedly working for his country's cause, addressing meetings and writing to periodicals on Indian questions. Though he has just entered on his 82nd year, he is active and fresh as ever. We need not refer to his keen disappointment at the defeat he sustained at the last General Election to re-enter the House of Commons and serve his country once more. India owes a great deal to him already, and, if for nothing else, she ought to be grateful to him for his presistent efforts to persuade the people of England and even opitimistic Viceroys and Secretaries of State to admit the great poverty of India. These efforts are beginning slowly to bear fruit and we have no doubt that, when the India of the future is completely moulded and shaped, Mr. Naoroji's share in the work will be found to have been quite invaluable. His work has throughout been unselfish, incessant, and unostentatious. The main spring of all his labours has been his great faith in British justice, and though now and again he has been found fault with for the vehemence of his language, there is not the faintest trace of *lese majeste* in his writings or speeches. On the other hand, as the late Mr. Justice Ranade said, the basis on which Mr. Naoroji has always laboured is "that the people of this country should come to regard the existence and continuance of British dominion in this part of Asia to be an unquestionable

fact." Mr. Naoroji is, as Mr. Gokhale described him in public recently, "one of the greatest men in the world" or, as an old Bombay journalist of experience and knowledge said, "one in a million;" and if he has sometimes used bitter language, it is because the situation required it. With "its sweet purity, its simplicity, its lofty patriotism, its abounding love, its strenuous pursuit of high aims," Mr. Naoroji's life is one which every Indian might well try to follow. It has been a life of strenuous energy, sacrifice for the motherland for over fifty years, and "only our young men will realize this in their lives, even partially, however dark the outlook at times may appear, the future is bound to be full of hope."

APPENDIX.—A.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

A CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

ONE of the first fancies which took possession of my mind as a little child—a fancy which has remained in my memory—was that, as my father was dead, the moon, like other friends, was in sympathy with me. And whether I went to the front or the back of the house the moon always seemed to go with me. I liked sympathy then and I like it now.

Another incident of my childhood I give upon my mother's authority, and not from personal recollection. According to my mother, whenever any boy used bad language to me, I used to reply: "Your bad words will remain in your mouth."

As a boy I took a great interest in, and was considered pretty smart at, Indian cricket. In the pursuit of that active and absorbing game we boys did not in the least seem to mind the hot sun, and during the half hour for lunch at midday we used to play regularly on the Esplanade.

Being quick at the multiplication table and at mental arithmetic, and being also little of size and fair of colour, I was a regular "exhibition boy" at my indigenous or native school. On special occasions all the boys of the school used to be lined up in the open by the side of the road, and there, surrounded by crowds of people, I, along with other little boys, was smartly exercised in mental gymnastics amid the loud "wa-was" (bravos) of the admiring audience.

Owing to the fairness of my complexion, and I think I may say the prettiness of my little limbs, I was also always an object of show at weddings, processions, etc.,

generally appearing as an English General or Admiral, or in some gorgeous Indian Royal or Court dress of brocade. Fond parents and friends of the child thus exhibited used to say of him : " Oh, he is my dear 'Jonglo' (Englishman)." Little did I dream then that I should spend much of my manhood and older life in the country of the " Jonglas" and don their dress in reality. I was particularly reminded of these days of processions and my childish joy in the different dresses I wore, especially the English Court dress, when, in Court dress, I formed one of the deputation from the Committee of the Imperial Institute who received the late Queen Victoria on the occasion of the opening of that building. I well remember how the thought passed through my mind, " Here I am a real courtier now."

One of the delights of my boyhood was to read the " Shahnamah" (the Persian epic) in Gujarati to Parsi audiences. I need hardly say that these readings had much to do with the formation of my character.

* * *

How things, little in themselves, lead to important results ! In the early twenties of the last century there was formed at Bombay a society called "Native Education Society," which established a school in two branches, English and Vernacular. The " Metaji " (master) of my indigenous school did not know very much about the experiment of the Native Education Society. But it was enough for him that it was conducted under Government auspices, so he sent his son to the school and persuaded my mother to send me also, and this was the foundation of my whole life's career. The education was then entirely free. Had there been the fees of the present day, my mother would not have been able to pay them. This incident has made me an ardent advocate of free education and the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth.

The awakening of the soul came to me when I was about fifteen. I remember as if it were only yesterday, how at a certain spot on a certain road I made a vow never to use low language. From that time forward, as my education advanced other resolutions to do this and

not to do that followed, and I think I may say that I faithfully adhered to them.

As a boy, I was accustomed to have my little drink before dinner. One day there was no liquor in the house and I was sent to have my drink at a shop opposite. Never did I forget the shame and humiliation I felt at being there. It was enough. The drink-shop never saw my face again.

When I entered the school there were two European masters, one for the literary, the other for the arithmetical department. Some difference of opinion having arisen between them, they divided the school into two parts, each taking the whole education of his own division. One of the two was a strict disciplinarian, the other anything but that. My lot fell with the latter. Practically, we were allowed to do as we liked but I was not disposed to be idle. I must be acitve in some way or other. There was no enforcement of lessons, so I looked about for an occupation. I had a retentive memory, could repeat any story I heard both in spirit and in letter, and I was full of stories. So most of my school hours were passed in "spinning yarns" to an admiring circle of school-fellows. So lax was discipline that often we would coolly march out of school and spend the whole day in games. In this way something like a year of regular study was lost to me. Yet I cannot say that even that truant year did not do me some good. My story-telling powers and skill at games made me a leader among the boys, and I acquired the self-confidence and reliance which comes with such a position.

I remember at one of the school examinations a fellow-pupil, having learned the "ready-reckoner" by heart, carried off the prize I had expected. But at the distribution of prizes, when questions outside the book were asked, he faltered and broke down. I seized the opportunity, rushed out of the ranks, and answered. There and then an Eng. lish gentleman among the company gave me a prize, and Mrs. Poston, the lady traveller, who was also present, has made a special note of the incident in her book, "Western India." Here I may say good-bye to the events of my boyhood.

After passing through the Vernacular and English schools I entered the Elphinstone College. Again the stars were favourable. As in the schools, there were no fee. On the contrary, admittance to the college was to be obtained only by scholarships, one of which I was fortunate enough to gain.

Among the books I read about this period that formed the various aspects of my character and influenced my subsequent life was, besides Firdose's "Shahnamah," a Gujarati book, "The Duties of Zoroastrians." Pure thought pure word, pure deed was the lesson. But the literature I had most to do with, and most enjoyed, was, of course, English. Watt's "Improvement of the Mind" settled my style and mode of thought—never two words when one was enough, clearness of thought and diction. So I bade farewell to the fine and flowery.

As education advanced, thought gradually developed itself in different directions. I realised that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged, so much so that some of my school boys came from a well-to do class-mate, a Cama, one of the family with whom I was destined subsequently to have so much to do in public and private life. The thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people. While this thought was taking shape there came my way Clarkson on "The Slave Trade," and the life of Howard, the philanthropist. The die was cast. The desire of my life was to serve the people as opportunity permitted.

When I was just at the top of the college, Sir Erskine Perry, then the President of the Board of Education, having formed a kind and favourable opinion of me proposed to send me to England to study law with a view to being called to the Bar. Sir Erskine himself offered to defray half the expenses if the elders of my community would provide the other half. Through some misunderstanding—I fancy the elders were afraid lest the Missionaries in England might convert me to Christianity!—the proposal was not carried through. Years later, in the course of a conversation I had with Sir Erskine

at the India Office, when he had become a Member of the Council, he said that it was as well his proposal had not been accepted, as he was sure that my life, as it was, had been made more for public usefulness than if I had become a lawyer.

It was now time for me to think seriously of a profession. I came very near to entering the Government service. The Secretary of the Board of Education at Bombay took an interest in me, and obtained an appointment in the Secretariat for me. This I regarded as a great stroke of luck. But fortunately some circumstances prevented me from accepting it. In reality it was the best thing that could have happened. Otherwise I should have been bound down to the narrow outlook of a subordinate Government official servant.

The six or seven years before I eventually came to England in 1855, as one of three who came here to establish the very first Indian firm of business in the City of London under the style of "Cama & Co.," were full of all sorts of reforms, social, educational, political, religious, etc. Ah, those years!

Female Education, Free Association of Women with Men at public, social and other gatherings, Infant Schools, Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the Vernacular, Parsi Reform, Abolition of Child Marriages, Re-Marriage of Widows among Hindus, and Parsi Religious Reform Society, were some of the problems tackled, movements set on foot, and institutions inaugurated by a band of young men fresh from College, helped in some matters by the elders, and aided by the moral support and encouragement of such men as Sir Erskine Perry, Professor Patton, and others. Such were the first fruits of the English education given at the Elphinstone College.

Yes, I can look back upon this part of my life with pride and pleasure; with the satisfaction of a duty performed that I owed to the people. Yes, these "days of my youth" are dear to me, and an unfailing source of happiness.

The greatest event of my early career was my appointment as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at my old, old *Alma Mater*,—Elphinstone College.

I was the first Professor in India with the title of Elphinstone Professor.

To me it is the dearest title, and honour above all honours. It is my delight, and many a school-fellow and pupil call me "Dadabhai Professor" to this day.

The seeds sown in the days of my youth have brought me abundant harvest in the love and esteem of my fellow-countrymen. Is it vanity that I should take a great pleasure in being hailed as the "Grand Old Man of India"?

No; that title, which speaks volumes for the warm, grateful, and generous hearts of my countrymen, is to me, whether I deserve it or not, the highest reward of my life. A friend once asked me whether I would care to live my life over again; my reply was: "Yes, I would, with all its disappointments and trials."

I suppose I must stop here. But there is one who, if she comes last in this narrative, has ever been first of all—my mother. Widowed when I, her only child, was an infant, she voluntarily remained a widow, wrapped up in me, her everything in the world.

She worked for her child, helped by a brother.

Although illiterate, and although all love for me, she was a wise mother. She kept a firm hand upon me and saved me from the evil influences of my surroundings.

She was the wise counsellor of the neighbourhood. She helped me with all her heart in my work for female education and other social reforms against the prejudices of the day. She made me what I am.—*Progress.*

My last prayer and exhortation to the Congress and to all my countrymen is—Go on united and earnest, in concord and harmony, with moderation, with loyalty to the British rule and patriotism towards our country, and success is sure to attend our efforts for our just demands, and the day I hope is not distant when the world will see the noblest spectacle of a great nation like the British holding out the hand of true fellow-citizenship and of justice to the vast mass of humanity of this great and ancient land of India with benefits and blessings to the human race.—*From the Lahore Congress Address.*

APPENDIX—B.

DADABHAI IN PRIVATE LIFE.*

BY MR. C. M. CURSETJI, B.A.,

Barrister-at-Law,

Third Judge of the Small Causes' Court, Bombay.

ONCE out of his office or his study, the work and the worry of it were entirely laid aside, and in his drawing-room or at his hospitable board you found Dadabhai the most lovable and charming of companions. His conversation was ever clear, weighty, informing and pure, varied and flavoured withal with a wit at once prompt, playful and kindly, so that one felt pleasure and reaped also profit by talking with him or sitting and listening to the flow of his illuminating words, whether mirthful or serious. No ill thought or word found place in his speech, nor a harsh term such as could wound any one's feelings. In familiar intercourse his general demeanour was such as to put you at once at ease and make you feel at home; whilst he never monopolised conversation, he contributed his fair share to it. His mobile and handsome features expressed amusement, sympathy or concern as the subject demanded; anger, seldom or never. There was a brightness, freedom and unobtrusiveness all about him that made his presence most winsome and wished for. Young or old yielded to its charm. One never felt tired of being with Dadabhai Naoroji. His arguments were ever direct and straightforward, never specious or sophistic: whilst, if he indulged, as sometimes he did, in paradox, it was from pure playfulness. Suiting himself to his company in a rare and remarkable manner, he was as a child with children, responsive with fun and frolic; with the ignorant or humble, simple and sym-

* Reprint from the *Oriental Review.*

pathetic; with the learned, ready with information on all points: and with the familiar friends in his house, the most delightful of hosts, lively, gentle and considerate, full of varied instruction suavely imparted, and anecdotes and stories apposite, amusingly and edifyingly told with effect. Above all, with a mind so richly endowed, Dadabhai possesses a good nature that is never put out—a disposition, that is, amiability personified. Though on the political platform he is a hard hitter and never shirks or wavers in leading the onslaught and heading the forlorn hope, in the bosom of his family and among his friends he is a very different being. I have seen him playing with his or other people's children, freely having fun with friends and even with those who were working under him in his office, never assuming airs, never showing temper even when provoked, and, as occasion required, ready with serious talk and the most clear-sighted advice. As a father he has ever been most affectionate, amiable and solicitous; as husband, a paragon of virtue and good sense; as a son, most devoted and praiseworthy. As a friend it would be difficult to qualify him. He is everything that a friend should be. I know how he has ever been ready to listen to the tale of misfortune and to extend a helping hand to the unfortunate, either with his good offices, his valued counsel, or with his purse, slender as it is. Many a friend he has helped over the stile, and even strangers have not gone from his door with their troubles unassuaged. Unfortunately for him and for human nature, his simple-mindedness and trusting generosity that think no evil, have more than once been taken advantage of by the dishonest and ill-deserving. Only lately he was fraudulently done out of over four thousand rupees by a Hindu whom he befriended at a serious pinch. Though ill able to afford to lose so large a sum, Dadabhai dealt with the traitor with a consideration and forbearance that was certainly undeserved and such as some might almost describe as weakness. When fortune, ever faithless and fickle, turned against him and he suffered irretrievable losses in business, I have seen him, in his house, bear his misfortune with a calm that seemed to come naturally to his well-balanced mind. He never displayed the least irritation, and moved about and conversed with his friends very much in his usual cheerful, unruffled manner. Even in the days of his commercial prosperity he

ever lived in a simple and most unostentatious style, befitting a thorough gentleman. Though he then kept his carriage, it was oftener at the disposal of his friends or the members of his family, whilst he himself patronised the 'plebeian' bus to and from the city, and frequently walked much of the way back of a clear evening.

As an instance of his extreme simplicity and the humility of his mind, may be recorded the way in which he returned to his humble little house—then in a back street in Khetwady—on the occasion of his coming to Bombay to preside at the Lahore Congress. No Roman Emperor, as we know, no victorious general, ever received so triumphal a home-coming and welcome as he did, but, instead of driving as he might have done, and as he was pressed to do, with all *clât* to the fine house prepared for him on Malabar Hill, he gently stepped out of his carriage in the obscure street where his family lived! It was like Cincinnatus returning to his poor farm after triumphing over the enemies of his country. Latterly, and especially since he entered Parliament, he adopted the full European costume so as to be in more consonance with his surroundings; but as most people know, whenever he is in India, he discards the English habiliment entirely and dons the cloths—the *dagli* with its wrinkled sleeves, the pyjama-like trousers and the inconvenient sugar-loaf of a turban, which the orthodox Parsis still delight in, which, making a virtue of necessity, the ancient Parsis adopted from their Hindu neighbours in Sanjan over twelve hundred years ago. As an instance of the equanimity of his temper and the kindness of his nature, I may mention the following anecdote which he told us himself. It was just about the time of the great Siege of Sebastapol. Dadabhai was then one of the masters in what used long to be known as the Society School at Dhobie Talao. Some great swell of the Educational Department came unexpectedly one morning to visit the school. Dadabhai received the great man, and as they opened the door of the main class-room and entered, they were received with a tremendous bombardment and clouds of dust. The boys had arranged all the school black-boards in opposing rows and were playing at the English and Russians. As Dadabhai and the distinguished visitor entered, the word of command was given, the boards were simultaneously hurled to the wooden floor

with a crash and a rattle such as we could well imagine come near to a discharge of artillery. Dadabhai merely greeted the delinquents with a "Oh, you naughty boys!" and ordering them to fall in, proceeded to the adjoining class-room, inwardly much enjoying the fun.

His mother was a remarkable woman and Dadabhai was a most devoted son. His filial piety is not to be surpassed. In his most prosperous day the maternal word or wish was law in his house, and his dealing with the mother was so gentle and so dutiful that it struck even the most casual observer. I have often seen them together, and the relationship between them was ever a pleasing and exemplary sight. Even when, as it sometimes happened, the good dame was unreasonable or acted incongruously, the son was ever amiable, forbearing and respectful. His children then, or his grand-children later, were ever most fond of him. When at home with them he shared in their pastimes, and if occasion called for instruction, he made himself a welcome teacher, never acting the pedant or the taskmaster. Even his servants both here and in England are very much attached to him, due to his unfailing courtesy and gentleness.

Such was Dadabhai Naoroji in his home or private life in the old days in London, and though now he is looked up to by all India as its *Guru* and G. O. M., he is still much the same. In concluding this short sketch, I think I shall not be contradicted if I describe our venerable G.O.M. as a perfect gentleman in the truest and happiest sense of that word, and as a man, the most manly, true and human, in the noblest conception of these terms It is thus that in his eminently ennobling and lovable character man is made creditable and humanity is beautified. His life is gentle, and the element so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world: "This is a man!"

APPENDIX—C.

SOME APPRECIATIONS OF DADABHAI.

—:o:—

BY THE LATE MR. JUSTICE RANADE.

"It might be said that in this work of reconciliation Mr. Dadabhai's extreme position has not been as helpful and as serviceable to the cause of the country as one might expect. But I have studied his writings and his speeches carefully and attentively, and would fearlessly and unhesitatingly observe that there was not a single sentence or expression, not even the most casual, which could be pointed out in support of the allegation that Mr. Dadabhai had created a gulf which did not previously exist. This is a calumny which would never lessen the affection and esteem in which the people held him. When he said that the phenomenal poverty of India must cause anxiety both to the dominant and protected classes, he said nothing but the truth. It was to the highest interests of both Great Britain and India to acknowledge that truth. It was of no use to ignore facts when those facts were proved; and in Mr. Dadabhai's case, I would assure you that there was not a single sentence or figure put down in any of his books which did not represent mature thought and life-long study. It was not that he had entered them for the sake of gaining a temporary advantage in a discussion. These facts were being slowly filtered from mind to mind, and those who had followed recent discussions in Parliament and the Press must have found that slowly and surely the officials and non-officials, journalists and men of business in England, were beginning to realise—what it was impossible in the last century to realise—that India was not the rich land which the travellers of old times had described it to be. It was a poor country, and, as such, it required a specific *regimen* and treatment. And what were these *regimen* and treatment? They were exactly those which Mr. Dadabhai had been recommending to those responsible for the government of the country. I am afraid to admit that there might be those among you, and among Englishmen, who really thought there was no room for such an extreme position as had been taken up by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. But whatever might be the individual opinions, whether they

were Englishmen or Indians, there was no doubt that the matter was serious, and the seriousness had been emphasized by recent events which could not fail to work out their own salvation."

THE HONOURABLE Mr. G. K. GOKHALE.

WHAT a life it has been! Its sweet purity, its simplicity, its gentle forbearance, its noble self-denial, its lofty patriotism, its abounding love, strenuous pursuit of high aims—as one contemplates these, one feels as though one stood in a higher presence! Surely there must be hope for a people that could produce such a man even if, as Mr. Ranade once said, he be only one in three hundred millions. * *

Every one knows that Mr. Dadabhai is one of the gentlest men to be found anywhere in the world. When such a man is driven to the use of bitter language, there must be something in the situation to make him so bitter, and the responsibility for his bitterness must, therefore, lie not on him but on those who make the situation what it is. Again, take the writings of Mr. Dadabhai of his earliest years, take even his writings of middle age, and I say, without the least fear of contradiction, that no one will be able to lay his finger on a single word which can in any way be described as bitter. If, latterly, he has been using language which to some may appear too strong, it is because he finds that he has been all these years like one crying in the wilderness; also because he finds, as we all find, that for some years past the ideals of British rule in this country are being steadily lowered. Further, a man of Dadabhai's great age and life-long devotion to the best interests of his country may well claim to state the naked truth as he perceives it without any artificial embellishments such as you or I are expected occasionally to employ. I think Mr. Dadabhai stands to-day in the position of a teacher not only to his countrymen, but also to the rulers of the land. And who ever has thought of complaining that a teacher does not care to overlay truth with a quantity of soft and plausible expressions? Moreover, I do not mind Englishmen occasionally making such a complaint, but I really have no patience with those of our own countrymen who, having done nothing or next to nothing, for their country themselves, do not hesitate to say that Mr. Dadabhai is injuring the country's

cause by the use of violent language. No, whether Mr. Dadabhai uses mild words or bitter words, our place is round his standard—by his side. Whoever repudiates Dadabhai, he is none of us. Whoever tries to lay rude and irreverent hands on him, strike him down.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD.

In 1869 the citizens of Bombay, in public meeting assembled, presented an address to Dadabhai and a purse for his services in England. Commenting on this Mr. Martin Wood wrote as follows:—

It is a distinctly national feeling that has been aroused; but never was patriotism more free from bitterness and mere antagonism. There has been no current event calculated to arouse these political aspirations. We can only refer it to certain peculiarly happy characteristics and facile ability in the chief promoter of this revival, that we have seen not only the Parsis but Hindus of all castes—the poor compositor and the wealthy Shettiah, the presidency towns and the sleepy mofussil, all uniting in responding to Mr. Dadabhai's earnest but moderate and intelligent patriotic appeals. * * * Young as he still is the testmonial now presented is the acknowledgment of many years of steady, continuous service, including very much besides the political effort, which, though necessarily attracting more attention, may be of less permanent advantage to Bombay and its people than other work of which the address has revived the recollection. * * * The sentiment of these donors of many races towards the man whom they regard as one of their national representatives, is similar to that expressed by Sir Robert Peel towards Lord Palmerston in the great Don Pacifico debate, when, though criticising the spirited Foreign Secretary's policy, he avowed—"We are all proud of him!" Knowing what we do of Mr. Dadabhai, we cherish the belief that he will continue to justify the very general admiration and confidence of which this testimonial is the expression.—*Times of India, July* 28, 1869.

The many admirers of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, both English and Indian, entertained him at a complimentary breakfast on Tuesday, November 20, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, in honor of his election for the third time to preside

over the Indian National Congress. Several speeches were made on the occasion and many letters of sympathy were received. The following are a few of them :—

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.— "The time is out of joint," and by general consent Mr. Naoroji is the one man considered "born to set it right." The call has come to him on account of the principles which he represents ; but even more so on account of his unique personality ; his pure unselfishness, his high courage, and his life-long devotion to the public good.

MR. KEIR HARDIE, M. P.—I desire to add my hearty congratulations at the election of Mr. Naoroji to the important position of President of the Indian National Congress, feeling assured that the vast interests of the people of India are matters which Mr. Naoroji has deeply at heart.

Mr. H. M. HYNDMAN :— Desiring to show his appreciation of the great work done for India by Mr. Dadabhai during more than fifty years, he added that Mr. Dadabhai's services to India "have been of incalculable value, which has never yet been fully acknowledged."

Dr. KARL BLIND.—I can only say that I am right glad to know that due honour is paid to one who has so earnestly and so ably expounded for many years the just grievances of the Indian populations, the redress of which I believe to be as much in the interest of this country as it is called for by the principles of humanity, of freedom, and of political and social progress. In mind I therefore heartily join in your demonstration.

Mr. BOMANJI WADIA.—He was one of the greatest patriots the nation had ever known, and his very name carried with it those attributes. "Dada," father of all India, and "Bhai," brother of all those who suffer and under oppression pine, the first of India's sons working for the "Naoroz," the new day of India's liberty and emancipation.

Mr. A. O. HUME, C. B.—There is no one in the length and breadth of India who does not know his name—no one who does not feel that in him they have a real friend. He is a man who is revered throughout the land.

Look back on the past fifty years During the whole of that time Mr. Naoroji has been labouring without reward and almost without thanks. He has devoted the whole of his energies to the promotion of the welfare of his fellow-countrymen. Can any one say that he has ever grudged money, time or trouble when it was shown that by giving it he could advance the cause of his people? During the whole of those years had he ever asked anything for himself, had he ever worked for anything which could bring him personal advantage of any kind? The answer is emphatically No. His life had been given wholly to his country, which has now called upon him for the third time to occupy a very responsible position. He has accepted the call, and we sent him out with all the good wishes for every blessing which life can bestow. We sincerely hope that he will be happy in this work, and succesful in all that he undertakes, and that when his task has been accomplished he will speedily return to this country to continue his great patriotic toil and finish up the work of his life. Ultimately, of course, we must lose him, but we can never lose his work, and his whole history will be an encouragement to his fellow-countrymen, and to all who love patriotism, truth, and justice. The blameless record of his perfectly pure life, ceaseless activity and absolute unselfishness will be regarded as the true crown of crowns, of all that is best and noblest of earthly works.

Mr. W. CROOKS, M. P.--Regretted that he was unable to be present to join "to do honour to a real good man, one who has never forgotten his less favoured countrymen."

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH, M. P.—As to Mr. Naoroji, he looked on him as the Grand Old Man of India. There could be no difference of opinion as to his singleness of motive. A more single-minded man was never born, and though he did not quite agree with him on all points, they had learnt to respect one another, each resolving that the other was doing his best for the cause.

SIR FRANCIS CHANNING, M. P.—I am delighted to think that our old friend Naoroji is still vigorous and energetic on behalf of his country, and wish him well in his discharge of this great duty. I know that he, being a wise man, realises that peace is the handmaid of progress.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON, M P.—Said that while the natives of India looked upon Mr. Naoroji as their Grand Old Man, English politicians also regarded him as one of their Grand Old Men. * * * His name was honoured in England, and he would have their sincere sympathy in the profoundly anxious and responsible task he had undertaken.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEIL, M. P.—Their guest had great and magnificent characteristics in the form of courage and pertinacity. The Irish members were supposed to be great fighters, but they found a great example in Mr. Naoroji.

Mr. HYNDMAN.—I greatly regret that an engagement to speak at Sheffield last night prevented me, as I wrote to Sir W. Wedderburn, from attending the breakfast in your honour at the Westminster Palace Hotel. I should not, however, like the occasion to pass by without writing to bear my testimony to you personally, as to the admirable work that you have done on behalf of India for the past 50 years and more. No one appreciates that work more fully than I do and, had I been present at your breakfast and been given the opportunity of speaking, I should have recalled that before I had the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance, I made use of the invaluable statistics contained in your "Poverty of India," which I bought from P. L King and Co., in August, 1878, now nearly 30 years ago. It must be a great satisfaction to you to see that so many who at that time and long afterwards could not, or would not, recognise the real cause of the terrible poverty of India, are forced to come round to the opinion which we have so long held. Your indefatigable persistence in pressing forward your views, in season and out of season, is worthy of the highest admiration, and I am very glad you have lived long enough to receive from your countrymen in India the recognition which is due to you, not once but on many occasions.

A large company assembled at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on the evening of Tuesday, November 27, under the auspices of the National Democratic League, for the purpose of bidding farewell to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, on his departure for Calcutta to preside at the Indian National Congress, and to convey through him the friendly greeting of the

British Democracy to the Indian people. Representatives from all the associations affiliated to the League, and from many progressive and democratic institutions, were also present.

SIR JOHN JARDINE.—Mr. Naoroji, in whose honour they assembled that evening, was no rising star—and if they looked over his long career they would not fail to recognise the persistence and reasonableness of his methods, the greatness of his ability, and, above all, the honourable and blameless tenor of his life.

Mr. T. HART-DAVIES, M. P.—If there was one man above all others who would command the respect and attention of his own countrymen it was Mr. Naoroji.

Mr. W. P. BYLES, M. P.—Declared his deep and sincere respect for Mr. Naoroji. The people of India, for whom he had laboured so long and so devotedly, had once more shown their appreciation of his life's work ; and no one more rejoiced at that manifestation of their high regard than he did. He would not have left the House of Commons that evening for anybody in the world except Mr. Naoroji. India had more friends in the House of Commons than Indians were perhaps aware of.

Mr. A. J. WILSON, of the *Investor's Review*, wrote :—Mr. Naoroji has fought a long up-hill fight and fought it well."

Mr. PICKERSGILL, M.P.—Expressed his delight at being able that night to join in the chorus of "God-speed" to his old friend, Mr. Naoroji. He had known Mr. Naoroji for many years and could sincerely pay a high tribute to the good work done by him.

APPENDIX—D.

"BRITAIN'S SOLEMN PLEDGES."

ACT OF PARLIAMENT, 1833 [INDIA]:—

"That no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company."

[THE Company's duties were transferred to the Crown.]

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION OF 1858:—

"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"And it is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge.

"When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate * * and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

LORD LYTTON the Viceroy, on the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress, 1st January, 1877, at the Delhi Assemblage :—

"But you, the Natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest

justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

LORD LYTTON the Viceroy, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, March, 1877 :—

"The Proclamation of the Queen contains solemn pledges, spontaneously given, and founded upon the highest justice."

JUBILEE of 1887. The Queen-Empress, in reply to the Jubilee Address of Congratulation of the Bombay Municipal Corporation :—

"Allusion is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct government of India as the charter of the liberties of the princes and peoples of India. It has always been and will continue to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained."

TRUE BRITISH RULE.

True British rule will vastly benefit both Britain and India. My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British people, that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonorable un-British system of Government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent inconceivable at present, if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instincts of fair play and justice, and will insist upon the "faithful and conscientious fulfilment" of all their great and solemn promises and pledges.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Publisher's Preface	i
Where Farming is a Profitable Pastime ..	1
How The American Govt. Helps The Farmer ..	30
The Relation of Manure to The Crop	65
Plant Breeding in America	92
How They Raise Rice in America	102
Wheat-Growing in America	127
Making Money out of Milk	147

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